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ABSTRACT

The implications of a mandatory pupil assignment desegregation plan for the racial composition of the School District of Philadelphia are assessed in this report. The first section of the report reviews desegregation literature relating to mandatory pupil assignment. Virtually all of the research indicates that mandatory white reassignments significantly accelerate white flight, but the magnitude of white flight is dependent upon demography, geography, program choices, and attitudes. The second section of the report presents new findings on the desegregation attitudes and program choices of parents in six selected elementary schools in the Philadelphia School District. Among the factors considered in the analysis were: parents' race, level of education, and desegregation condition of their child's school. The three school desegregation conditions present in the district at the time of the survey were: (1) schools with voluntary desegregation programs; (2) schools identified for pairing to achieve desegregation; and (3) schools neither experiencing nor being considered for desegregation. Among the major findings reported are the following: parents are generally in favor of school desegregation and district programs and services; voluntary desegregation strategies are favored by the majority of parents; the quality of education in the school was characterized as being more important than desegregation; and parents were overwhelmingly pleased with the schools their children attend. The report concludes that the basic result of a mandatory plan would be increased white flight. Survey results are presented in tabular form in an appendix. (KH)

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IMPLICATIONS OF MANDATORY PUPIL ASSIGNMENT FOR DESEGREGATION

A REVIEW OF THE EXISTING RESEARCH AND A SURVEY OF THE DISTRICT'S PARENTS

Report No. 8402

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Report No. 8402
September 1983

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SUMMARY

This report offers an assessment of the implications of a mandatory pupil assignment desegregation plan for the racial composition of the School District of Philadelphia.

Results show parents to be generally in favor of school desegregation and School District programs and services. Voluntary desegregation strategies are favored by the majority of parents. The quality of education in the school was characterized as being more important than desegregation. Parents were overwhelmingly pleased with the schools their children attend.

Based on an analysis of the survey data, there is reason to believe that the District would experience serious difficulties and stiff opposition if a mandatory desegregation pupil assignment plan were ordered.

The first section of this report takes the form of a review of the desegregation literature as it relates to mandatory pupil assignment. Virtually all of the research indicates that school desegregation significantly accelerates "white flight" in most school districts if it involves mandatory white reassignments. The magnitude of white flight is dependent upon three factors: the white proportion of enrollment in the district, the proportion of whites reassigned to formerly black schools, and the proportion of black students reassigned to formerly white schools.

While the literature on mandatory pupil assignment may be consistent, each district undergoing desegregation is unique. Demography, geography, program choices and attitudes all influence the potential for successful desegregation. None of the studies reported in the literature has examined Philadelphia. The Desegregation Evaluation Unit completed such a study in June, 1983. The next section of this report examines the results of a survey of desegregation attitudes and program choices of parents in six selected elementary schools in the District. Parents' race, level of education, and desegregation condition of their childs school were all considered in the analysis. Three desegregation conditions were identified.

For condition one, voluntary desegregation, a predominantly white neighborhood school with a desegregation program which had successfully attracted black volunteers and a predominantly black neighborhood school with a desegregation program which had successfully attracted white volunteers were selected.

For condition two, school pairing, a predominantly white neighborhood school with no current desegregation programs, and a predominantly black neighborhood school with no current programs for desegregation were selected. Both of these school communities had been identified by District staff in October 1982 as part of the proposed pairing plan. The selected schools were not proposed for pairing to each other.

For condition three, racial isolation, a white neighborhood school and a black neighborhood school were selected. Both schools were over 90% of the designated race. Neither school had experienced nor was being considered by the District for desegregation.

Parents responding to the survey were guaranteed anonymity. The survey was completed before the District was ordered to modify its Desegregation Plan.

EXISTING RESEARCH ON MANDATORY PUPIL ASSIGNMENT

Perhaps the most obvious negative effect on desegregation in large urban districts is that it sometimes leads to "white flight." Research by Rossell and Hawley (1982) and Farley, Richards and Wurdock (1980) concludes that the normal change in the white percentage of school enrollment in northern central city school districts (like Philadelphia) should be a decline of two percentage points annually. This decline is characterized as a function of a suburbanization trend and a declining birthrate.

Determining the decline in white public school enrollment resulting from school desegregation requires a separation of the impact of a desegregation plan from the long-term demographic trends. The question addressed by the research, most notably by Rossell and Hawley (1982), is: In any given school district, how much does school desegregation add to the already declining white enrollment?

That whites flee from desegregating school districts because of prejudice is an explanation that explains too little. Rossell and Hawley (1982) acknowledge racism as a factor. Their research and that of others (Giles, Gatlin and Cataldo, 1976; McConahay and Hawley, 1977) indicates that individual racism is related only weakly to one's intention to leave a desegregating school system. In short, prejudice was found to be only a minor contributing factor to the phenomenon of white flight.

Hirshman (1970) developed a way to think about why parents leave school systems that goes beyond prejudice or racism. His is a theory of cost-benefit analysis. That is, parents (regardless of their race) will consider exit from the public schools when they perceive that the cost of seeking another option (private, parochial, or suburban schools) is lower than the cost they experience, or expect to experience, by remaining in the public schools.

Parents take their children out of public schools when the benefits of such a move outweigh the costs. These costs are economic as well as psychological. It is perceived costs, according to Hirshman (1970), rather than objectively measured costs that shape behavior.

When schools go through the process of desegregation, many parents (particularly those whose children have never had a desegregated experience) believe that the ratio of costs to benefits changes.

Rossell and Hawley (1982) see parents' beliefs as being based on one or more of the following assumptions:

- . the quality of education their child receives is declining or will decline,
- . their child may be subjected to greater physical violence or emotional harrassment,
- . their child may be exposed to and influenced by values dealing with academic achievement or social behavior that are not in the child's interest,
- . they will lose influence over their child's education,
- . their property values may decline (p.209).

Hirshman (1970) also believes that the parents' decision to act on an assessment that desegregation will increase the costs and decrease the benefits of the public schools also depends on loyalty, options, and the ability to pay for options.

Loyalty, to Hirshman, refers to parents who believe in the public schools (although not necessarily mandatory student assignment for desegregation). These people are likely to become activists for school reform. When they perceive that the district is no longer responsive to their needs, they consider leaving the system.

Options, to Hirshman, refers to whether there are available private, parochial or suburban schools in close proximity to the desegregating district. In countywide or metropolitan districts, exit is minimal. In the large central city districts, where parochial schools are well established and suburban schools are in close proximity, there is much greater flight.

In spite of how parents, black or white, say they would react to a mandatory pupil assignment plan, the fact remains that a family's ability to pay for the option of not attending public schools is a logical predictor of whether or not

they will exit. An exit from the public schools involves additional school, and possibly relocation costs. Studies often find a negative relationship between positive attitudes toward desegregation and willingness to stay in desegregating schools (McConahay and Hawley, 1977). One of the reasons for this finding may be that those most opposed to desegregation often can not afford to leave the public schools.

In large urban districts, black and minority parents generally have a lower income level than white parents. More white parents have the ability to pay for available options.

Fifty-five Studies Summarized

Rossell and Hawley (1982) examined fifty-five separate studies and reviews in their efforts to characterize the phenomenon of white flight. It is important to note that both Rossell and Hawley are very firm proponents of desegregation. The object of their research has been to discover strategies that might bring equality and equity to desegregating school systems. In spite of their feelings however, their findings indicated that when a mandatory desegregation plan is implemented, the racial composition of a district changes. To summarize:

- Most flight from desegregation is to private or parochial schools within the district.
- The average court-ordered desegregation plan (about 30 percent black students and 5 percent white students reassigned) results in an additional enrollment loss of 8-10 percentage points in the first year of implementation in school districts above 35 percent black.
- White reassignments to formerly black schools result in two to three times greater enrollment loss than black reassignments to white schools.
- Whites are more likely to leave their schools when the proportion of black students reassigned approaches 35 percent.
- The educational quality and social status of the minority receiving school has no relationship to white flight.
- The greater the busing distance, the greater the white flight, but only in the implementation year.

- The rate of white flight is greater for elementary students than secondary students.

- Phased-in plans result in greater white flight than plans implemented in one year because the greater the advance notice, the more time parents have to respond.

- Negative media coverage of desegregation during the preimplementation year increases white flight.

- The greater the community protest during the preimplementation year, the greater the white flight.

- Parents most likely to withdraw their children from the public schools because of school desegregation tend to be of higher income and educational level than those who do not. This holds true for all races. White schools with higher achievement levels have greater white loss rates.

- Metropolitan desegregation plans have less white enrollment loss than do desegregation plans confined to a central city.

- There is nonentrance of preschool students from families already residing in the school district because of school desegregation.

Although the research is not as extensive, Rossell and Ross (1979) found evidence of black flight from desegregating school districts. Factors cited were similar to white flight, especially with respect to income and educational level, but were far more pronounced on the secondary level. In Boston, for example, approximately 20 percent of the black students assigned to attend predominantly white high schools never appeared the first year. An average of 20 percent did not show up in subsequent years from 1974 to 1979.

Voluntary Plans Produce Less White Flight

A voluntary desegregation plan is one alternative to mandatory reassignment of students.

Voluntary desegregation plans result in the least amount of desegregation. They also result in the least amount of white flight (Rossell and Hawley, 1982).

Armor (1980) argues that if mandatory plans were compared to voluntary ones, rather than to no plan at all, over a longer period such as ten years, than voluntary plans would ultimately produce more desegregation because they would

produce less white flight over the long term. While this theory may make intuitive sense, not enough time has passed, nor have enough school districts been identified and studied so that Armor's claim might be assessed.

Crain and Mahard (1981) examined 96 studies relating desegregation to achievement. Their findings generally show the overall positive effect of desegregation, especially among minority students. The achievement of white students is not generally affected, either negatively or positively.

Another finding concerned itself with the issue of achievement in mandatory versus voluntary desegregation plans. Crain and Mahard (1981) could find no difference between voluntary and mandatory student assignment as it related to achievement.

The authors draw other conclusions as well. Desegregation is most beneficial when begun in the earliest grades (i.e., higher overall achievement and more positive attitudes). Desegregation in a society where whites have run to the suburbs to establish a "white noose" around declining minority central cities requires metropolitan desegregation (Crain and Mahard, 1981, p. 198).

Crain and Mahard (1981) also discovered that a "critical mass" of students, black or white, must be present after desegregation. Otherwise, achievement is affected negatively. Students should not be spread so thinly that they make up less than 15 percent or 20 percent of a school. In a system with too few black or white students, desegregation is not possible.

Emerging Policy Implications

Persons concerned with issues of equality and equity express dismay with the research findings on mandatory pupil assignment. The consistency of these findings however, limits the policy options available to a concerned superintendent, members of a board of education, or the judiciary. A stable, desegregated school district with access to excellence for all students is the stated goal of the Superintendent (Clayton, 1983). A court-ordered mandatory pupil assignment plan in a district that is predominantly minority may make this goal unattainable.

The realities noted by Rossell and Hawley (1982) and the positive results reported by Crain and Mahard (1981) may appear to be in conflict - especially in predominantly minority central city districts such as Philadelphia.

As noted earlier, these conflicts may limit available policy options. The most successful voluntary desegregation plans, when confined to predominantly minority central city districts, leave large numbers of racially isolated schools.

Crain and Mahard (1981) suggest that policy makers pay particular attention to the success of voluntary transfer programs to and from surrounding suburbs. Suburban students volunteer to attend schools in the city while city students volunteer to attend schools in the suburbs. Desegregation is increased in each district. Such voluntary programs have proved successful in terms of achievement as well as desegregation in Hartford and New Haven, Connecticut; Newark, New Jersey; and Rochester, New York school systems. It is the focus of the St. Louis plan.

PARENTAL ATTITUDES ABOUT DESEGREGATION IN PHILADELPHIA

Demography, geography, programmatic options, local politics, and parental attitudes have been identified as factors which influence desegregation. While each district must be considered unique with respect to these factors, the existing research on the effects of mandatory pupil assignment reviewed in this paper has been consistent.

To date, none of the studies reported in the literature has examined the potential effect of a mandatory pupil assignment plan on the School District of Philadelphia. The District's Desegregation Evaluation Unit, Office of Planning, Research and Evaluation completed such a study in June, 1983. Preliminary results are presented here.

How the Survey Was Conducted

As a regular part of its 1982-1983 evaluation, the Desegregation Evaluation Unit developed a survey questionnaire designed to assess parental attitudes and opinions about desegregation and School District programs and services. The survey instrument was field-tested in May, 1983 on the executive board of Philadelphia

Home and School Council, and then distributed to the parents of all students enrolled in six selected elementary schools.

Schools were selected for participation to represent the three school desegregation conditions present in the District in June 1983:

1. Schools with voluntary desegregation programs

   . a predominantly white neighborhood school with a desegregation program that had successfully attracted black students.

   . a predominantly black neighborhood school with a desegregation program that had successfully attracted white students.

2. Schools identified for pairing to achieve desegregation

   . a predominantly white neighborhood school with no current desegregation program that was identified for pairing by District staff in October, 1982.

   . a predominantly black neighborhood school with no current desegregation program that was identified for pairing by District staff in October, 1982.

3. Schools neither experiencing nor being considered for desegregation

   . a racially isolated white neighborhood school.

   . a racially isolated black neighborhood school.

To further insure that the views of parents were representative, and the results generalizable, schools were selected from throughout the city. Each of the six schools represented a different neighborhood.

Of 2,311 families receiving surveys, 1,018 were returned. The overall rate of response was 44.1%. Those parents responding to the survey were representative of parents in the selected schools in terms of race.

Once all the data were collected, all individual identification information was removed. No individual parents or schools were identified.

Parental attitudes about school desegregation were collected through the use of the survey questionnaire. The survey consisted of a series of statements about school desegregation issues, each followed by a Likert response scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree).

The kinds of programs and services parents believe the District should provide for their children were collected through the use of the survey questionnaire. Parents were asked to choose which programs or services they believed were most important to the education of their children. They were asked to rate each one from 1 (not important) to 3 (very important). In addition, parents were also given the opportunity to "write-in" what they believed to be the single most important program or service the District should provide to its students.

The race of the parents was collected as a part of the identification information on the survey questionnaire. Parents were asked to designate the racial group to which they belonged. For the purposes of this study, two racial groups were identified: white and non-white. Black, Hispanic, Asian and American Indian parents were considered to be non-white. Overall, the respondents included 559 white parents, 429 black parents, 7 Hispanic parents, 16 Asian parents, and 7 American Indian parents.

How the Results Should be Interpreted

Results of the survey must be considered to be preliminary at this time. Although some findings seem clear, the data are still being subjected to vigorous statistical analyses.

Part one, How I Feel About Desegregation, was a series of sixteen statements, each followed by a five point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree). The average (or mean) response to each statement is reported. A response ranging from 1.0 to 2.5 may be considered disagreement. A response ranging from 2.51 to 3.5 may be considered as having no strong feeling about the statement. A response ranging from 3.51 to 5.0 may be considered agreement.

The mean responses for each statement for the total sample, by race, by school condition, and by race within school condition are presented in the appendix.

Part two, School District Programs and Services, was a series of fifteen statements, each followed by a three point scale ranging from 1 (not important) to 3 (very important). Parents were asked to rate which programs and services were most important to the education of their children. The fifteen items were then ranked in order of importance for the total sample, by race, by school condition, and by race within school condition. An additional open ended question asked parents to identify the single most important program or service the District should provide its students.

Rankings of each statement for the total sample, by race, are presented in the appendix.

How Parents Feel About School Desegregation

It was clear from the number of responses, the content of the responses to the open ended question, and the additional unsolicited comments on the returned surveys that the respondents took the survey seriously. There were some statements on the survey for which agreement was universal. Other items were answered differentially by race or by school desegregation condition. Still other items elicited no strong feelings one way or another.

All Parents Agreed to These Statements

- The quality of education is more important than whether or not the school is desegregated.
- As a parent, I should have the final say as to where my child goes to school.
- I am generally pleased with the school my child attends.

For these statements, the average response was between "agree" and "strongly agree". Whether the parents were white or minority, or whether their children attend schools with voluntary desegregation programs, schools identified for pairing, or racially isolated schools made no difference. Quality education was their first priority. In addition, they want to determine which schools their children attend.

Parents Responded Differentially to These Statements

. A desegregated school has more to offer a child than a segregated school in terms of supplies and materials.

Minority parents tended to agree with this statement, although not strongly. The greatest agreement was among minority parents whose children attended a predominantly white school for a desegregation program.

White parents tended to disagree, although not strongly. Parents of students in the racially isolated and pairing conditions showed more disagreement than those in a desegregation program school.

. My child would lose out academically if he or she were reassigned for desegregation.

White parents whose children attended a racially isolated white school showed the greatest agreement with this statement. White parents of children in the other two school conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

Minority parents whose children attended a racially isolated minority school reported mild disagreement. Minority parents of children in the other school conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. I don't mind my child attending a desegregated school because all schools are pretty much the same.

Parents of children attending schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed strong disagreement with this statement. White parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions also disagreed.

Minority parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions had no strong feelings one way or the other.

. It's important to me that my child attends a school with children from other racial and ethnic groups.

Parents of children attending schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed the greatest agreement with this statement. Minority parents of students in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions agreed as well.

White parents of students in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions had no strong feelings one way or the other.

. I'm worried about my child's safety in a desegregated school.

Minority parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed the greatest disagreement with this statement.

White parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions expressed the greatest agreement with the statement.

Minority parents in these two school conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. It would take a court order to get me to send my child to a desegregated school out of my neighborhood.

Minority parents of children in each of the three school conditions disagreed with this statement. Parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed the greatest disagreement.

White parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions expressed the greatest agreement. This was especially true of white parents whose children attended a racially isolated white school.

White parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. I do not believe in desegregation unless it is voluntary.

White parents tended to agree with this statement. The strongest agreement was among white parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions.

Minority parents did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. Attending a desegregated school helps to prepare children for the real world.

Minority parents of children in each of the three school conditions expressed strong agreement with this statement.

White parents' agreement was dependent on the condition of the school their children attended. Parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed agreement. Parents whose children attended a

school identified for pairing did not feel strongly one way or the other. Parents whose children attended a white racially isolated school expressed disagreement.

. School pairing, combining a mostly black school with a mostly white school for desegregation, would be OK with me so long as both schools had the same programs, services and resources.

Minority parents of children in each of the three school conditions expressed strong agreement with this statement.

White parents whose children attended a white racially isolated school expressed strong disagreement.

White parents of children in the school desegregation and pairing conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. Elementary age students should not be involved in mandatory desegregation programs.

Minority parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed mild disagreement with this statement. Minority parents of children in the pairing and racially isolated school conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

White parents whose children attended a white racially isolated school expressed strong agreement. White parents of children in the pairing condition mildly agreed. White parents of children in schools with voluntary desegregation programs did not feel strongly one way or the other.

. If my child were assigned to a school outside of my neighborhood, I would leave the school system.

White parents whose children attended a white racially isolated school expressed strong agreement with this statement. White parents of children in the pairing condition agreed as well, although not as strongly. White parents of children in schools with voluntary desegregation programs did not feel strongly one way or the other.

Minority parents of children in each of the three school conditions expressed disagreement with the statement. Minority parents of students in schools with voluntary desegregation programs showed the greatest disagreement.

. I really prefer that my child attend a desegregated school.

Minority parents whose children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs expressed strong agreement with this statement. Minority parents of children in the pairing condition agreed as well, although not as strongly. Minority parents of children in the racially isolated condition did not feel strongly one way or the other.

White parents whose children attended a white racially isolated school expressed strong disagreement with the statement. White parents of children in the desegregation program and pairing conditions did not feel strongly one way or the other.

Parents Had No Strong Opinion About This Statement

. Desegregation is fine with me so long as my child does not have to travel on a bus.

For this statement, the average reponse was around three. Whether parents were white or minority, or whether their children attended schools with voluntary desegregation programs, schools identified for pairing, or racially isolated schools made no difference.

How Parents Feel About School District Programs and Services

The second part of the survey asked parents to rate which of fifteen School District programs and services they believed were most important to the education of their children. Parents could rate a program or service from 1 (not important) to 3 (very important). The average response for each of the listed programs and services were then ranked from highest (or most important to parents) to lowest (or least important to parents). Complete rankings by race are presented in the appendix.

Agreement Among Parents is Nearly Complete

All parents want the same things for their children regardless of race or school desegregation condition. Agreement among parents was so high that the rankings of minority and white parents was nearly absolute (rho= .96, $p<.01$).

Safety in the school building; a good supply of books and materials; extra concentrated help for students experiencing difficulty in the basic skills; safety going to and from school (transportation); a well maintained school building; and emphasis on basic skills, dress code, nightly homework etc. are the most important programs and services parents want for their children.

More magnet schools or alternative programs, appreciating cultural differences in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society; learning how to use a computer (computer literacy); extended day services for working parents; and a desegregated school are the least important programs or services parents want for their children.

Other District programs and services ranked in the middle. These included: extra materials and experiences for students who master the course content; established and enforced standards for promotion; more contact with the home; and involvement with the business community in career education and job training.

The importance of these rankings is two-fold. First, parents of all races are in nearly perfect agreement as to the programs and services they want for their children. Second, those programs and services that are important - safety, books and materials, a well maintained school, extra help for students, an emphasis on the basic skills - can realistically be present in all schools.

Other programs and services, many of which would require additional funding, were not considered to be as important.

Desegregation alone is not considered by minority or white parents as important.

Parents Were Asked to Complete an Open Ended Statement

The survey contained one open ended question. Parents were asked to complete the following statement:

As a parent, I believe the single most important program or service the District should provide to its students is _____.

Of 1,018 parents responding to the survey, 854 (83.9%) completed the statement. Individual responses were examined carefully. Five categories emerged:

1. School Staff - Typical responses included good, caring, well prepared teachers; more responsible, accessible staff (particularly the principal and counselor); better teacher-student relationships; more communication with the home.
2. Basic Skills/Quality Education - Typical responses included an emphasis on reading and mathematics; nightly homework; a dress code; promotion standards; computer training; career education.
3. Additional School Supplies/Services - Typical responses included extra curricular activities; more aides; books to take home; more materials in the schools; trips; day care services; enrichment activities; tutoring.
4. School Climate - Typical responses included safety in the schools; inforced standards for discipline.
5. Miscellaneous - Responses were varied. Examples included prayer in the schools; year round schools; individual special education concerns; neighborhood schools; desegregation.

Basic Skills/Quality Education was the most frequent response of parents; 63.1% of minority parents and 58.7% of white parents gave responses that fit into this category.

Additional School Supplies/Services was the most frequent response of 15.0% of the minority parents and 12.0% of the white parents.

School Staff was the most frequent response of 13.4% of the minority parents and 15.7% of the white parents.

School Climate was the most frequent response of 5.2% of minority parents and 11.2% of the white parents.

Miscellaneous responses were recorded for 3.3% of minority parents and 2.4% of white parents. These data are presented more fully in the appendix.

INTERPRETING THE SURVEY: IMPLICATIONS OF MANDATORY PUPIL ASSIGNMENT IN PHILADELPHIA

While the perspective of society should be to seek the "greater good of most," the perspective of individual parents is to seek the best interests of their children. It is in this light that the results of this survey must be viewed. Moreover, one must be mindful of the reality - and this makes the situation even more complex - that perceptions of what is best can vary, and this is only to be expected.

Parents - whether they are black, Hispanic, Asian, or white; whether their children attend schools with desegregation programs, schools targeted for pairing, or schools that were racially isolated - were in strong agreement that:

- The quality of education is more important than whether or not the school is desegregated.
- As a parent, I should have the final say as to where my child goes to school.
- I am generally pleased with the school my child attends.

Of particular interest is the way in which parents indicated they would respond to a loss of control over which school their children attended. Here there was a difference in reaction between minority and white parents.

White parents (except for those whose children are currently involved in the voluntary desegregation program) indicated that they would remove their children from Philadelphia public schools.

Minority parents, while equally desirous of control over which schools their children attend, did not indicate that they would take any particular action over the loss of that control.

That parents of white students would probably leave the system is consistent with the research presented by Rossell and Hawley (1982).

Faced with an already decreasing white population, a mandatory pupil assignment plan could only hasten the decline. Without a critical mass of white students in the District, desegregation becomes impossible. A more segregated school system would be the result.

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APPENDIX

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement	Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)		
1. A desegregated school has more to offer a child than a segregated school in terms of supplies and materials.	Total Sample	2.84	(n=1,017)*
	Race		
	white	2.22	(n=561)
	non-white	3.60	(n=450)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=376)
	white	2.69	(n=313)
	non-white	3.66	(n=163)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	2.06	(n=98)
	non-white	3.53	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	1.89	(n=242)
	non-white	3.61	(n=132)
2. Desegregation is fine with me so long as my child does not have to travel on a bus.	Total Sample	2.92	(n=1,018)*
	Race		
	white	3.03	(n=561)
	non-white	2.76	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=377)
	white	2.93	(n=213)
	non-white	2.48	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.37	(n=98)
	non-white	2.89	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	2.99	(n=242)
	non-white	3.02	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement		Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)	
3. My child would lose out academically if he or she were reassigned for desegregation.	Total Sample	3.07	(n=1,016) *
	Race		
	white	3.62	(n=559)
	non-white	2.40	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=375)
	white	3.37	(n=211)
	non-white	2.41	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.36	(n=98)
	non-white	2.44	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	3.93	(n=242)
	non-white	2.32	(n=132)
4. I don't mind my child attending a desegregated school because all schools are pretty much the same.	Total Sample	2.06	(n=1,018) *
	Race		
	white	1.83	(n=561)
	non-white	2.35	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=377)
	white	1.83	(n=213)
	non-white	1.99	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	2.20	(n=98)
	non-white	2.56	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	1.68	(n=242)
	non-white	2.58	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement	Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)		
5. It's important to me that my child attends a school with children from other racial and ethnic groups.	Total Sample	3.59	(n=1,015) *
	Race		
	white	3.14	(n=559)
	non-white	4.14	(n=450)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=374)
	white	3.67	(n=211)
	non-white	4.36	(n=163)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.41	(n=98)
	non-white	4.20	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	2.55	(n=242)
	non-white	3.82	(n=132)
6. I'm worried about my child's safety in a desegregated school.	Total Sample	3.24	(n=1,016) *
	Race		
	white	3.60	(n=559)
	non-white	2.79	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=375)
	white	2.94	(n=211)
	non-white	2.27	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.72	(n=98)
	non-white	2.97	(n-154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.13	(n=242)
	non-white	3.21	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement		Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)	
7. It would take a court order to get me to send my child to a desegregated school out of my neighborhood.	Total Sample	3.06	(n=1,017) *
	Race		
	white	3.78	(n=560)
	non-white	2.17	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=376)
	white	3.17	(n=212)
	non-white	1.87	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.92	(n=98)
	non-white	2.35	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.28	(n=242)
	non-white	2.31	(n=132)
8. The quality of education is more important than whether or not the school is desegregated.	Total Sample	4.47	(n=1,014) *
	Race		
	white	4.38	(n=559)
	non-white	4.56	(n=449)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=373)
	white	4.51	(n=211)
	non-white	4.51	(n=162)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	4.41	(n=98)
	non-white	4.59	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.24	(n=242)
	non-white	4.64	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement	Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)		
9. I do not believe in desegregation unless it is voluntary.	Total Sample	3.61	(n=1,016) *
	Race		
	white	4.05	(n=559)
	non-white	3.07	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=375)
	white	3.83	(n=211)
	non-white	2.67	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	4.19	(n=98)
	non-white	3.25	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.20	(n=242)
	non-white	3.40	(n=132)
10. As a parent, I should have the final say as to where my child goes to school.	Total Sample	4.63	(n=1,016) *
	Race		
	white	4.73	(n=560)
	non-white	4.51	(n=450)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=376)
	white	4.63	(n=212)
	non-white	4.47	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=251)
	white	4.82	(n=98)
	non-white	4.69	(n=153)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.77	(n=242)
	non-white	4.34	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement		Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)	
11. Attending a desegregated school helps to prepare children for the real world.	Total Sample	3.52	(n=1,017) *
	Race		
	white	3.02	(n=560)
	non-white	4.15	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=376)
	white	3.69	(n=212)
	non-white	4.19	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.36	(n=98)
	non-white	4.11	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	2.31	(n=242)
	non-white	4.14	(n=132)
12. School pairing, combining a mostly black school with a mostly white school for desegregation, would be OK with me so long as both schools had the same programs, services and resources.	Total Sample	3.40	(n=1,014) *
	Race		
	white	2.68	(n=559)
	non-white	4.28	(n=449)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=373)
	white	3.28	(n=211)
	non-white	4.36	(n=162)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.03	(n=98)
	non-white	4.17	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	2.00	(n=242)
	non-white	4.31	(n=132)

*Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement		Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)	
13. Elementary age students should not be involved in mandatory desegregation programs.	Total Sample	3.39	(n=1,013) *
	Race		
	white	3.97	(n=556)
	non-white	2.69	(n=451)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=373)
	white	3.47	(n=209)
	non-white	2.47	(n=164)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	3.87	(n=98)
	non-white	2.91	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.46	(n=242)
	non-white	2.72	(n=132)
14. If my child were assigned to a school outside of my neighborhood, I would leave the school system.	Total Sample	3.09	(n=1,009) *
	Race		
	white	3.90	(n=554)
	non-white	2.12	(n=449)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=371)
	white	3.44	(n=209)
	non-white	1.94	(n=162)
	Pairing		(n=251)
	white	3.72	(n=97)
	non-white	2.39	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=373)
	white	4.38	(n=241)
	non-white	1.99	(n=132)

* Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

How I Feel About Desegregation: Mean Responses To The Parent Survey Questionnaire For The Total Sample, By Race, By School Desegregation Condition, And By Race Within School Desegregation Condition

Statement	Mean Responses (STRONGLY DISAGREE 1 2 3 4 5 STRONGLY AGREE)		
15. I really prefer that my child attend a desegregated school.	Total Sample	3.16	(n=1,014) *
	Race		
	white	2.60	(n=558)
	non-white	3.87	(n=450)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=374)
	white	3.35	(n=211)
	non-white	4.27	(n=163)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	2.62	(n=98)
	non-white	3.80	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	1.93	(n=242)
	non-white	3.42	(n=132)
16. I am generally pleased with the school my child attends.	Total Sample	4.45	(n=1,013) *
	Race		
	white	4.49	(n=560)
	non-white	4.40	(n=447)
	Desegregation Condition		
	Voluntary		(n=373)
	white	4.44	(n=212)
	non-white	4.30	(n=161)
	Pairing		(n=252)
	white	4.32	(n=98)
	non-white	4.64	(n=154)
	Isolated		(n=374)
	white	4.63	(n=242)
	non-white	4.22	(n=132)

* Parents who did not identify their race are included in this total.

PARENTS' RANKINGS OF SCHOOL DISTRICT PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Program or Service	Parents' Ranking		
	All	Minority	White
1. A well maintained school building.	5	7	5
2. Safety in the school building.	1	1.5	1
3. A good supply of books and materials.	2	1.5	2.5
4. Safety going to and from school. (Transportation)	3	3	4
5. More contact with the home.	9	8	9
6. A desegregated school.	15	15	15
7. Extra concentrated help for students experiencing difficulty in the basic skills.	4	4	2.5
8. Extra materials and experiences for students who master course materials.	7	6	7
9. Emphasis on basic skills, dress code, nightly homework, etc.	6	5	7
10. Learning how to use a computer. (Computer literacy)	11	13	11
11. Appreciating cultural differences in a multi-racial, multi-ethnic society.	13	12	13
12. Established and enforced standards for promotion.	8	9	7
13. Involvement with the business community in career education and job training.	10	10	10
14. Extended day services for working parents.	14	14	14
15. More magnet schools/alternative programs.	12	11	12

Spearman Rank Order Correlation for Minority and White Parents: Rho =.96 $p<.01$

RESPONSES TO THE OPEN ENDED STATEMENT: MOST IMPORTANT PROGRAM OR SERVICE THE DISTRICT SHOULD PROVIDE

Response Category	Number and Percent Responding		
	Total	Minority	White
School Staff	125 (14.6%)	49 (13.4%)	76 (15.7%)
Basic Skills/Quality Education	518 (60.7%)	231 (63.1%)	284 (58.7%)
Additional School Supplies/Services	113 (13.2%)	55 (15.0%)	58 (12.0%)
School Climate	74 (8.7%)	19 (5.2%)	54 (11.2%)
Miscellaneous	24 (2.8%)	12 (3.3%)	12 (2.4%)